2: Schaden--40 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/38 cont./

2. Clothing

291 177 Cloth for making clothing, however poor its quality, is the most coveted of the gifts that one can take to the population of a Guaraní village. The most evident manifestation of the misery and material poverty of the present-day Guaraní is not to have anything with which to clothe himself. Clothes of European type have become as necessary for him as they are for us. Not so much to serve him as protection against cold and rain, for the rigors of the weather do not preoccupy him in such a manifest way, but because his relations with foreign people demand that the Indian present himself dressed. The "bare" Indian, one who does not have a shirt and trousers to cover the nakedness of his body, does not leave his hut when someone visits the village.

291 177 609 156

291 156 182 186 177 European clothing thus gives the Guaraní more assurance in his attitudes and capacity for self-affirmation in relation to the civilized man, who looks at the Indian's nudity as the most eloquent expression of cultural backwardness and even of savagry. In the struggle for an acceptable status with regard to the caboclo, the Indian therefore cannot dispense with clothing. Another function of the clothing of Western type is the defense of the nuclear spheres of the tribal culture. Dressing in the European way, the Guaraní has the appearance of being civilized; he thus avoids criticism and mockery, and it is easier for him to preserve cultural values that he by no means wants to give up.

296 515 From the point of view of hygiene, the use of clothing is highly detrimental, for as soon as the Indian puts on garb of European type the cleanliness of the body leaves much to be desired; it is as though the clothing made baths dispensable. Washing the clothes, too, is a pattern poorly integrated in the culture. There are many Indians who, as soon as they get a piece of clothing, put it on without losing any time, using it day and night, until it falls apart.

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/45 cont./

178 433 There are villages in which the predominant patterns of production and consumption still allow, with relative confidence, the reconstruction of the traditional economic organization, quite well known, incidentally, by means of the bibliographic sources.

181 156 433 The economic efficiency of the individual does not represent a source of special prestige. There are two principal reasons for this fact: first, the predominantly communitarian form of production and consumption, and, in the second place, the mystic orientation of the culture and the importance /46/ given to communion with the supernatural. The first of these factors [621] causes the stimulus for work to be strictly related to the intensity of the feeling of social solidarity. Only with the progressive individualization of the economic tasks and the acceptance of the corresponding values as elements of social differentiation is the notion of the lazy or diligent individual and of the poor or rich man beginning to acquire meaning for the Guaraní spirit.

178 433 771 The number of native tribes in America in whose life the preoccupation with the problems of the supernatural fate of man has reached the importance that it has among the Guaraní is certainly small. For them the common affirmation that in primitive cultures all facts are "universal" and that in tribal life the economic preoccupations, like all others, are at the same time religious is certainly valid: one notices an extraordinary predominance of the religion in all the spheres of the culture, including the economy, to the extent that not infrequently economic activities appear as simply a pretext for the performance of ceremonies for contact with the supernatural and control of the personal powers that are deemed to have an influence on the destiny [476] of human beings. It may be a puxirão /a co-operative work party: see below, p.66 /, the harvest of the products of the clearing, the departure for a journey, some unexpected or uncommon phenomenon -- in short, anything may be the motive for prayers and ritual dances.

/61 cont./

177 178 433 Economic acculturation proceeds not only in accordance with the necessity of facing new exigencies, arising from contact with civilization, but also as a more or less direct consequence of the loss or transformation of the old patterns or institutions or even of material conditions, which makes the old economy impractical, forcing a search for new solutions.

156 177 178 433 The most incisive change being manifested in this domain perhaps is the recognition, even though slow, of the economic efficiency of the individual as a factor of social distinction. It is a more or less direct consequence of the disintegration of the old great-family as the unit of production and consumption, leading to economic individualization, a consequence of the need to find a substitute criterion for the traditional social stratification based on religious experience and, lastly, of the effort to overcome the motives of discrimination on the part of the civilized inhabitants, who tend to stigmatize the sylvicolist as indolent by nature and economically incapable. Thus economic efficiency assumes social value in a double sense: as a source of prestige within the community itself and as a recourse for self-affirmation in the face of foreign elements.

177 178 181 433 Even for such reasons of a specifically social order, if there were no others, it would be obvious that the acculturative process /62/ could not fail to lead to an increasing individualization of the economic activities. On the other hand, however, this transformation does not take place without causing serious disturbances in the whole culture, in the adaptive system as well as in the integrative one. The major difficulty consists in the lack of mental equipment suitable for the individualist economy. Besides a notion of work adequate for the new form of economic life, the Guaraní lacks a minimum of foresight, as well as a notion of the correspondence of values in commercial transactions (hence the impossibility of dealing with money). Certainly, obstacles of this order perhaps exist in all the native tribes and perhaps even in all the primitive villages obliged to replace in a short time the ancient communitarian economy of the co-operative type with the individualist system of the Western world. But there would certainly

2: Schaden--73 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/62 cont./

177 be few tribes in which the incapacity to develop an economic
178 spirit with the notion of profit and a corresponding finalist think-
181 ing is as marked as among the Guaraní, simply because of the
433 profound religious mysticism that shapes the mind and tends to give an emotional and sentimental stamp to all of their attitudes, instead of giving them rational criteria for the application of
• [156] practical norms in their relations with other human beings. From the psychological point of view, economic acculturation is only (so it seems) to be realized in an integral way from the time that the individual succeeds in looking at his economic efficiency as a criterion for evaluating his own personality and not only as a source of prestige and social distinction. In sum, from the time that one may say that the ancient ideal of life has been replaced by another one.

177 In any case, the economic acculturation of the Guaraní
178 has received a decisive impulse from the necessity of obtaining
43 money in order to come into the possession of so many things that the traditional culture is unable to provide and that can only be purchased with money. For the Guaraní the fact of needing money is the only stimulus tending to make him break out of the closed circle of the activities of production and consumption of the local group and integrate himself in the larger sphere of the regional economy. This integration takes place through activities unknown until then to Guaraní culture: recompensed work on the nearby fazendas and estates; exploration of the surrounding environment for commercial purposes (extraction of palmitos, hides, orchids, parrots, etc.); trading artifacts of a manufacture based on techniques in part traditional, in part new (brooms, baskets, bows and arrows); sale of agricultural products; and, finally, begging expeditions to the urban centers. As these /63/ activities become generalized, the economy loses its tribal character, failing to be closed and self-sufficient.

178 For the time being, however, this is only a matter of
433 activities that are either sporadic or executed to satisfy immediate needs. Many elements of the traditional economy exist beside them. For example, the collective clearings, collective

2: Schaden--74 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/63 cont./

128 433 hunting and fishing expeditions (binding the great-families), the institution of the great-family in turn as an economic community (sometimes congregating several elementary families into a unit of production and consumption), the collective ownership of the hunting areas and the lands of tillage, and, above all, the almost complete absence of intragroup commerce, except in the matter of the exchange of services. All this means that the individual is [156] not recognized as an autonomous economic agent within the tribal [182] community. And, when it occurs, this last step takes place with detribalization itself, that is, it represents the final phase of the existence of the group.

177 433 648 The economic acculturation of the Guaraní appears the more difficult the more it proceeds dissociated from corresponding transformations in other spheres, becoming the cause of cultural unleveling. In this respect the constant complaints of the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are significant, as they are engaged in imposing on the sylvicolists, in the interest of the latter, so many "economic matrices," without their being in a situation to integrate them satisfactorily into their system of patterns of behavior. Disillusioned, the official in charge of a post in southern Mato Grosso told me: "The Kayová do not want to produce anything; they lack the necessary sense." At his post he had tried for more than fifteen years to stimulate individual production for trade, a matter that did not make any sense to the Indians. In a nearby nucleus, also of Kayová, more positive results were achieved with a system of collective production of yerba maté. To promote the economic "progress" of the Nandéva at another post the Government ordered, years ago, established coffee-plantations to be handed over to the different families; [156] in a short while everything was left abandoned. These and other examples show the difficulty for the Guaraní in detaching the individual from the economic community and coming to consider him as an agent himself with interests that are individual and in part perhaps contrary to those of the group; finally, the reluctance 000 to adopt a pattern of intragroup economic competition. /The notes for Chapter IV appear on pp. 64-65 in the original source, with Ills. VI-IX inserted between p. 64 and p. 65. Page 66 is blank./

/68 cont./

524 155 Among the rare games that do not reproduce adult activities there can be mentioned simple swings of guaimbé fastened in a U shape to some horizontal branch (Mbüá of Rãriri). But even in this respect acculturation makes itself 524 177 felt: the child -- perhaps attracted by the ideal that Western 155 civilization represents, in part consciously, in part unconsciously, for the Guaraní -- begins to become interested in the games that symbolize technical progress and movement, like our city child. In the village of Rio Branco a boy makes a little airplane with the help of a taquara propeller, a cigarette package (body of the airplane), and the wax of wild bees. Another uses a calender sheet as propeller. At Araribá a Ñandéva boy builds a little truck, using a rough piece of wood and two empty spools of thread. -- These examples show that the Guaraní child [156] is already using his own inventive spirit for the satisfaction of play activities formerly nonexistent in the traditional culture, activities that constitute innovation in the sense of representing not simply a reflection of the culture of the adults, but civilizatory elements whose significance stems from an acculturative ideal.

861 155 The extraordinary respect for personality and individual 157 will, from the most tender childhood, makes the educative [828] process, in the sense of repression, practically impossible. In the opinion of the Guaraní the tendencies of the child are nothing more than manifestations of its innate nature. A Mbüá of Xapecó used to make straw cigarettes for his two-year-old son, who, in his opinion, had been born "addicted." If on the one hand, such a form of treatment favors attitudes of boldness, independence, and autonomy in the child's personality, on the other hand it seems probable that it also accounts, at least in part, for the excessive extravagance tied to a sentimentalism that in the eyes of the occidental would be classified as morbid. In /69/ childhood the Guaraní does not learn, so to speak, to control himself and to go against his inclinations and his temperament: as an adult, he is constantly complaining about everything. And as the notion of repentance is almost inconceivable to him, he always tends to look for the cause of his sufferings in someone else and never in himself. It is clear that such a form of personality

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

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[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[787] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities
[621] and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[64] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract
[199] field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
• 156 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
157 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
177 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 Ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

2: Schaden--86 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

156 157 554 622 [829] [648] [178] the dignitary. The ñanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily: "Everybody leans on me, for I am ñanderú." In the majority of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office -- except in order to beg.

/74/

2. Marriage

584 [178] [593] [585] [593] [574] Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or, sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near her mother, likes to spend the day with her.-- Among the reasons for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.

584 593 581 584 591 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother, will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

2: Schaden--119 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayova

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881 Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told
825 me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a
[582] woman," that is, for marriage: whoever marries without having
[624] the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars,
snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars.
881 Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case,
• 156 the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Marçal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

/99/

Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

622 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to
621 constitute an organization of state type: in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest
[596] or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the au-
[623] thority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great-families, gathered in counsel, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority
624 based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence
621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, at
[648]

623 /100 cont./
128 courage, generosity, talent for command and as orator, and re-
114 tained in the office so long as he does not displease the com-
624 munity (3).

3. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Müller, 1934-1935, p. 696.

622 There was, without any doubt, a principle of hereditary chieftaincy. Montoya writes: Ordinarily designated for the position of chief is that man who belongs to the family of some dead chief" (4).

4. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Montoya, 1879, p. 106.

Nimuendajú refers to the "legitimate" capitão, who inherited the office; the table of the Honório family, organized by this author, clearly shows the hereditary succession of the office of capitão in concomitance with the chieftaincy of the great-family (5).

5. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1954, between pages 52 and 53.

622 There are, however, cases in which the civil chief is at the same
624 time religious chief and in which the prestige of the doctor-sorcerer
756 is the basis for the authority of the capitão, recognized and confirmed -- or not -- by the Government of the country.

624 Among the Kayová of Benjamim Constant, Capitão Alberto,
• 156 only civil chief, was able to keep the position as long as he could depend on his comrades' votes. He claimed he had been elected because his comrades "believed" (had confidence) in him, because he took care of order and discipline and, especially, for punishing with exemplary severity the bad sorcerers that he and his
624 /101/ village comrades believed to be in the group. -- Among
114 the Nandéva of Jacareí I attended an informal session of the senate,
623 in which the capitão did not participate (perhaps accidentally) and which had been called to discuss with me problems of the economic relations of the community with white inhabitants of the vicinity.

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[577] In order to be considered competent, or in order to gain prestige among his subjects, the capitão should be energetic, have persuasive power over his comrades, not be given to drunkenness, speak the national idiom, and be skilled and astute in dealing with the Brazilian authorities. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard complaints against old Silvino Rufino, whose incapacity was attributed to the "lack of agreement" in the village: he was said not to have the energy or sufficient persuasive power to gather the men to maintain the village road. They accused him of excessive alcoholism, which gave the community a bad name. "Mburuvixá naiporãi, the chief is no good because he drinks a great deal, and his wife too."

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555 In the social structure there is no formal obstacle blocking the access of anyone to either the category of prayer-man or doctor-sorcerer. The status stems from the religious experience of the individual himself, and there is no limitation to the number of doctor-sorcerers. Strictly speaking, every chief of a great-family, or even of an elementary family, can become the doctor-sorcerer of his kindred, so long as he has the vocation for such. Nothing hinders a family from splitting in two, each with its ñanderú, which, incidentally, shows the close relation between the chieftaincy of the family group and the charismatic authority. There is almost no danger of any rivalry among the doctor-sorcerers of a village: the authority of each one goes beyond the ambit of the family group only to that extent that his prestige allows it. His power does not rest on a patent conferred by an official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, but on his religious knowledge, on his ability to foresee the future, in the exercise of practices that drive away misfortunes of the present and prevent those of the future. That is why Pedro Pires said to me: "Mbaekuaá is the prayer-man, for he knows everything."

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177 The situation of the village capitão is quite different. The institution did not originate from within Guaraní culture: it was imposed from outside. Even so, however, nowadays important functions in the life of the group fall to him. The capitão

2: Schaden--126 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/102 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature,
and the flanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater au-
thority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or ex-
ternal politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less
directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases
the flanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of
real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
648 At Panambi, Paí Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de
Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order
to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the
needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always,
however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred
rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the
end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and
incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less inbued with the
• 156 Guaraní mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the
office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention
with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the
people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploita-
tions on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter
night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing
celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that
he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the
people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

/104 cont./

622 624 182 [596] Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality, distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in [177] [648] order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking.

624 • 156 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní. [114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be ñanderú or at least [622] ñvyráidjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions obeyed the ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the de- [622] parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, ñanderú Sebastião(now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 554 [184] In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

2: Schaden--145 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/115 cont./

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822 admitting that Sebastião, in the capacity of ñanderú, is more competent. Poýdjú, who claims to have become one who prays after he became old, spontaneously confesses, by the way, his ignorance in many things concerning religious doctrine. Many others, principally men of middle age, declare themselves incompetent in matters of theology and religion.

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[192] Ayvú properly means language; sometimes one also hears someone say ñeẽ, speech. The ayvú -- or the several ayvú, as the case may be -- is of divine origin, that is, it shares the nature of the supernatural spirits. It is responsible for the desires, feelings, and the noblest manifestations of the individual.
[191] The basic, primordial function of the soul is to confer upon man the gift of language; thus the designation. It is an interesting
774 fact because of showing that the idea of interhuman communica-
824 tion is placed first, in consonance, by the way, with the philosophy
•156 of life, characteristic of tribal societies, that looks at the human being above all as a social animal, as a fragment of the group. The individual has value socially to the extent that he is part
774 of the community and communicates with his comrades. Furthermore, the Ñandéva "psychologist" tries to explain the play of individual inclinations and tendencies. Just as in this play /116/ distinct and sometimes contradictory traits can be isolated, nothing is more natural than to consider the soul divided up into several component units.

The atsýyguá, constituting primarily the basis of biological existence and of the hormic manifestations, always corresponds to the nature or disposition of some animal; it therefore represents the animal character of the person or, as I have also heard said, the "incarnate genius." Perhaps in this case the psychologists of the Western world would use the term temperament or what
[828] has come to correspond to it in modern times. Good and peaceable
[825] fellow-tribesmen have the atsýyguá of a butterfly, a hummingbird,

2z Schaden--190 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/145 cont./

771 796 177 829 refrained from having a perahĩ when there was some white man in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumĩ pĩêta, the piercing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).

[782] [154] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators; on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibitionism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for compensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority that seizes them before a stranger.

771 177 178 [621] One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new elements in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that families belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrinations and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 177 159 • 156 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a restless Ñandéva from "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949 among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová religion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connection between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of the region and other elements of the civilized world.

2: Schaden--330 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/180 cont./

181 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of
182 Guaranî culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less
179 insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, which requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies parallel to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative crisis -- and in this the Guaranî are distinguished from many other native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensification of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign people, the Guaranî, instead of developing more rational and positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by means of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experi-
[156] ences. It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases results in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation converges more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system, while the women, of more practical sense, are more constantly
[464] /181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficulties of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indispensable for the satisfaction of the new needs.

[241] In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence
[224] activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms, tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the techniques of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting excite more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the
[135] male sex. During the phases of less intense association with foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the different subsistence activities, the disnivellation and impoverishment becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

this region by Neo-Brazilians either.) Such changes might permit the Cayuá to use their land longer and less destructively. Conceivably, however, recourse to the *changa* may bulk ever larger in the lives of the people as a compensation for diminishing agricultural returns. In this manner they might be reduced to the status largely of agricultural laborers for the local Neo-Brazilian population, and hence would probably become de-tribalized.

II. B. g. "Economic attitudes: (1) relations of individual and group change. (Formerly more cooperativeness and helpfulness.) Associated with foregoing is (2) greater commercialism or economic rationalism." The change in sentiments and relations of the individual *vis-à-vis* the group has closely followed (II. A. C.) greater individual productivity and efficiency, particularly in such an increasingly important economic activity as agriculture. It has already been noted (II. B. c.) that the division of labor changed in accordance with technological possibility, so that individuals are, in fact, more self-sufficient and now depend less upon others in their productive activity. Attitudes have correspondingly changed, and individualism of undertaking is increasingly assumed in sentiment as well as in interaction.

In the Cayuá instance, some of the same acculturational factors which historically brought about (II. B. c.) a more individualistic division of labor also tended to make for a more commercialistic view of economic matters. Two principal causes are (II. A. e.) the *changa* for Neo-Brazilians, and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, particularly the sentiments they engender on the part of the Cayuá. This is not a simple "adoption," in some crude sense, of Neo-Brazilian ways of thought and action; it is not, as it appears superficially, merely a gradual approximation of the native culture to the European culture. The point is rather that, the more Cayuá engaged in trade and work relations with their settler neighbors, the more they were obliged, for their own self-interest, to assume certain new attitudes and forms of behavior in these dealings. The new attitudes necessary on the part of the Cayuá were such as would conflict with the comparable attitudes of aboriginal culture. Gradually out of the resulting conflict emerged the sentiments which we have called individualism and commercialism.

Relations with the Neo-Brazilians in the *changa* constitute a type of productive activity for the Cayuá in which the individual's own work and own self interest are his sole concern. No other organization of the *changa* could probably succeed because of the leading part the whites, with their different orientation, play in the arrangement. In any event, all of the gain from work in the *changa* goes to the individual worker, and while engaged as a *peão*, he is effectively removed from the physical presence of other Cayuá. Thus the *changa* is not collective work; it is almost always individual.

The *changa* tends to give rather exclusive emphasis to the economic gain itself which is involved. In other words, a rational economic view, or commercialism, is fostered by this wage-work. There is little of the quality of helpful-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ness such as might exist if *changa* activity were carried out in company with other Cayuá. Relations between the Indians and the whites are definitely those of inferior to superior. The *changa* is normally free of most conceivable non-commercial social values; cooperation, reciprocity, or helpfulness are incidental, if present at all, and the residuum for the Cayuá *peão* is simply a restricted, individual self-interest in economic gain.[169] Whether the *changa* relations of Cayuá with whites involve any direct transmission of white commercialistic or individualistic attitudes *per se*—beyond those implicit in the nature of the relationship—is not known. It is possible that direct transmission of attitudes takes place; but even if not, there is little doubt that the *changa* "exposes" the *peão* to a situation in which a certain individualism and commercialism of sentiment must result.

(II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians have much the same effect as the *changa*. The economic benefit from trade with whites is an individual benefit. The motive of economic self-interest and the attitude of economic rationalism are important because they are largely inherent and inevitable in the trade complex as the Cayuá know it. Like the *changa*, trade relations of Cayuá with Neo-Brazilians are lacking in most non-commercial social values, even such values as would mark white trading with whites—the pleasure of bargaining, the swapping of news and comments, and so forth. The Cayuá negotiation is more restricted to the purely commercial ends of the respective parties, and the Cayuá would often need to be more clever than is necessary for the Brazilian customer if he were not to be cheated. It is not out of any awareness of social values, such as a spirit of helpfulness, reciprocity, or pleasurable social intercourse, that the Cayuá trade with whites (or vice versa). This trade rather takes place almost exclusively in order to obtain certain goods.

Actual money may sometimes enter into trading transactions, and money as a measure of value is often used when no money actually passes hands. The concept of price thus insinuates itself into Cayuá economic thinking (attitudes). Consider the effect upon social relations, in which non-commercial aspects are already at a near minimum, of an abstract, arbitrary standard of economic value such as money, which is largely divorced from any concern other than that of a measure of economic gain or loss.[170]

Ideas of money price prevalent in (II. A. f.) commercial dealings on the outside are also being brought into relations within Cayuá society itself. In

[169] The writer knows of one instance—not at Taquapiri—in which what was actually Cayuá *changa* for a Paraguayan settler was organized in somewhat the same spirit as a *puhiba*. The arrangements were similar, and a number of Cayuá joined together to perform the allotted work. Paraguayans often seemed less superordinate and domineering toward the Cayuá than Brazilians in the neighborhood of Taquapiri, besides more often speaking the Indian language.

[170] Of course, it is not reasonable to argue that "money" for Cayuá has the same connotations as for the Brazilians—or for us. It is rather that the use of money would inevitably involve some contrast with the aboriginal sentiments.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
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instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is commonly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neighbors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubtless were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete performs at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming.

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Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progresively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture.

178 476 156 [226]

Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualization is found in the description given by Rengger of the Cayuá *roça* of his day:[21] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single household for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture

592 156 178 476

[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
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592 is concerned. The house in question was a *tapuy*, the large, archaic
156 house type of the Cayuá, which is becoming less frequent nowadays.
178 Its number of occupants was sixteen in the case Rengger cites. This,
476 we have good reason to suppose, was an extended family. We should
[342] like to go into this matter to a greater extent, but space unfortunately
[596] does not permit. Suffice it to say, for our point of economic indivi-
[594] dualism, that while *roças* may have belonged to, been worked by, and supplied *extended* families a hundred years ago, they are today worked almost exclusively according to individual, elementary families, which also compose the usual household units. This is true of Taquapiry, at least.

476 Before turning to a brief note on present-day Cayuá peonage,
156 a third and final point is the apparent tendency to consider the joint
476 work party for work in the *roça* and the building of houses as of distinctly limited utility and possibly (in the case of certain individuals) as more a social obligation than a useful and pleasant way to get work done. It is true that some individuals have extensive recourse to the *puxirão*, as it is called, in taking care of the various parts of their agricultural work. But others, though fewer, rarely arrange *puxirões*, preferring to do the work themselves. These latter persons sometimes allege that the amount of work accomplished at a *puxirão* is frequently small compared to the "cost" in *chicha* and, furthermore, that the work is generally hastily and poorly-done, except for those types of agricultural or other activities where a large group of individuals is of obvious advantage or practically indispensable. At least one individual almost never gives a *puxirão* and rarely participates in those of others. He represents an extreme point of view but he is not completely alone. Such factors are operative, too, incomplete integration within the group (there are several newcomers and others who remain "on the edges") and ability to "afford" a *puxirão* (that is, to afford what it would "cost" in corn or other goods to supply the necessary *chicha*). But even in their totality these considerations do not cancel out the possibility of an increasing individualism in economic activity and a consequent relative passing out of use at Taquapiry of the joint work party.